

English Advice

TO

English Freeholders.

GENTLEMEN,

THE Welfare of the Nation so visibly are to Represent you in the next Parliament must have a great concern for the other judgment of Things, and Persons as is necessary true previous Knowledge of both; for want of which is commonly observed, and the Nation imposed Colours, put upon the most dark and selfish Intention it cannot take for reasonable a little to enquire, and who are not fit to be steady and true to it, for Mistakes by the most Suggestions of crafty Men cannot not to pursue their true Interest when plainly as lawfully they may, whatever they are convinced is contrary thereunto.

Those things which this Nation has been most jealous of, as not only against their Interest, but dangerous also to their Constitution, are a *Single Ministry*, a *Standing Army*, a *Perpetual Parliament*, and the *Growth of the Prerogative*. I shall but just touch upon each of these.

There are many yet alive, who well remember what the Sense of those great, leading *WHIG LORDS*, the Earls of *Bedford*, *Salisbury*, *Essex*, *Shaftsbury*, the Lords *Gray* and *Delmer*, and many other Noble Peers, was with relation to a *Single Ministry*, who in their Address to King *Charles II.* in 1680. (for which they had the grateful Acknowledgment of the Citizens of *London*, by *Slingsby Bethel*, and *Henry Cornish*, Esquires) put His Majesty in mind, That he having on the 21st of April, 1679. called unto his Council many Honourable and Worthy Persons, and declared to them and the whole Kingdom, That he being sensible of the evil Effects of a *Single Ministry*, or *Private Advice*, or *Foreign Committee*, for the general Direction of his Affairs, would for the future refer all things unto that Council: And by the constant Advice of them, together with the frequent use of this great Council the Parliament, was hereafter resolved to govern the Kingdoms. And to shew how great an Opinion they had of the King's Resolution, they tell him, That from hence they began to hope they should see an end of their Miseries; and yet not a quarter of the Power was lodged then in the Hands of a *Single Ministry* as is now. This was the Sense of the *WHIGS* of those Times, and upon their Authority I leave it.

As to a *Standing Army*, There is no Man but must see the consequence of a number of Officers in the House Commons in time of War, may be as fatal to our *English* Constitution as a *Standing Army* in the time of Peace; since there is little difference between keeping Members out of the House by Military Power in the Lobby (as *Cromwell* the Usurper did in 1653.) and out-voicing them in the most dangerous of the two, as being the least taken notice on. And to the fears the Ministry had, that the Nation would in time be apprehensive of this danger, and the Compliments the *WHIG-Lords* made them last Sc-

may perhaps be impur'd the less of that good Bill of the *Commons*, for preventing *Officers that may arise by the Encrease of Officers sitting in Parliament*. " And the late *Managery of the Affairs of Scotland*, gives too great Jealousies of an Intention somewhere, to make use of *Officers not only within Doors but without*.

As to a *Pensionary Parliament*, The preservation of every Government depends upon an exact adherence to its Principles, and the Essential Principle of the *English Monarchy* being that well-proportion'd Distribution of Power, whereby the Law doth at once provide for the Greatness of the Prince and the Safety of the People: The Government can no longer subsist, than whilst the Monarch enjoys the Power which the Law gives him, and the People the Rights and Privileges the Law gives them: Humane Reason can scarcely conceive a more excellent Government than what this Nation is blest'd with, where the Monarch, as Head, has the Care of all. But lest the Flattery and Ill Designs of Favourites or Ministers, shou'd lead our Princes into Measures cross and destructive to their real Interest, there is an Hereditary Nobility, whose proper Province is to keep the Balance of the Government steady, that Favourites and great Officers exceed not their due Bonds, that Justice be duly Administr'd, and all the parts of the Government preserv'd entire: And yet, lest these should grow Insolent, (a Disease Greatness is liable to) or by Offices, Dependencies, hopes of Preferment, or other Accidents, become, as to the major part of them, rather the obsequious Flatters of the Court, than the true Supporters of the Publick Interest, the Excellency of our Government affords another State of Men, which are the Representatives of the Freeholders, principal Boroughs and Corporations of *England*; that if it were possible to happen that the Spiritual Lords (*because of their great Dependence on the Crown*) together with the Court-Lords and great Officers, shou'd in any future Age make up the great Number of the House of Peers, and pass things very prejudicial to the Publick, all might prove ineffectual, and the Nation remain safe in a House of Commons. But 'tis a melancholy thing to consider what an Influence *Offices, Pensions, Maibey, Employments, and Gifts, have had in this last House of Commons*, to warp Men, both from their own Principles, and the Interest of their Country; and the Disorders and Inconveniencies, the Alteration which these have of late Years made in this part of our *English Constitution*, threaten us with, 'tis but reading over the Names of the Members of the House of Commons, and you will find a larger List of *Pensioners in Livery*, (I mean *Officers*) besides those that wear none, and yet receive their Pay, than were for the taking of the Occasional Bill. And whoever compares Mens Practices with their Opinions, let the Design of the Tackers be what it wou'd, 'tis evident they have acted with more Honour and Honesty, and more consistent with their avow'd Principles for the Interest of the Church of *England* in this point, than those who upon this Occasion renounced their Principle, their Conscience and their Church, rather than displease the Court, or hazard their Places.

As for the *Prerogative*, 'tis, I fear, too well understood how much the Differences between the Two Houses of Parliament tend to the heighning of That: And I would be glad to meet with a reasonable Account, w^y those Men in the House of Commons, who are known to be the immediate Dependants of the M—ry, were the miss' zealous for reviving and widening the Differences between the Two Houses, unless it were that the M—rs themselves designed to stretch the Prerogative, and sow Divisions amongst us, not knowing which of the two they might in another Parliament have most occasion to make use of for their own Security. I shall not enter into the Merits of the Cause, but only quote the Words of a very great WHIG, upon much the like Occasion, I mean in the Case of Mr. SHERIDON: " Is it a thing (says he) so strange " and new, that the House of Commons should order Men to be taken into Custody for " Matters not relating *Priviledge*? Have we not heard, that in 4 *Edw. 6. Crickcroft* was " was committed for confederating an Escape? That in 18 *Jac. 1. Sir Francis Mitchel* was " committed for Misdemeanors in procuring a Patent for Forfeitures of a Recognizances, " together with *Fowls and Gerard, &c*? That in 20 *Jac. Doctor Harris* was taken into " Custody for Misbehaving himself in preaching? That in 3 *Car. 1. Bages* was committed " for faults in Catechizing, and *Lowet* for presuming to Exercise a Patent, which had been " judg'd a grievance by a Committee of the Commons in a former Parliament? So that " the House of Commons did but tread in the steps of their Predecessors, and " these Orders were not new. And else-where the same Author says, " That *English Spirits* resent no Affronts so highly as those done to " their

their Representatives, and the Court will be sure to find the Effects of that Resentment in the next Election, for the Court did never yet Dissolve a Parliament in heat, but they found the next Parliament more averse, insisting on the same thing with greater eagerness than the former. By this we may see, what the Opinion of the *Whigs* in those Days was of the Power of the House of Commons, and how very different from what it is now.

There is one thing yet which threatens *England* more than the Generality of Men are aware of, *viz.* The over-grown Power of the Bank, its close Combination with the Treasury, the Secret Contrivances to continue and enlarge it, and the open Endeavours to get the Members thereof into Parliament, and set up that Interest against the Country Gentlemen, contrary to that Old *Whig-Maxim*, That a Banker ought no more to be a Member of Parliament, than a Butcher in a Jury. I shall only say, if the Power of the Bank be not seriously and speedily considered, I fear this Evil in a little time will be past remedy.

These are some of those Dangers which in my Opinion very much threaten this Nation.

The next Enquiry is, *What is England's True Interest?* It were endless here to enumerate all Particulars, I shall therefore instance but in one, *viz.* The Security of the Succession to the Crown in the Protestant Line, and House of *Hanover*. 'Tis not unknown to some what Means have been used to prevent the Scotch Nation from settling their Crown as we have done ours: And as nothing can be more effectual to the procuring the Settlement of the *Hanover* Succession there, and the further securing it to us here, than the Presumptive Heir's residing with us in England, which would convince the World of the Sincerity of the M---ry in that Point, so there cannot be a greater Discouragement than to see the Discountenance it has hitherto met with: And nothing can be more strange, than to consider how *Sly and Tender, how Nice and Cautious*, those who call themselves *Whigs* have been of late on the Subject of the Presumptive *Hanover*, "Heir to the Crown's residing here," and how fearful it should be named by others, who have only watched a favourable Opportunity of doing it; which since they could not find in this Parliament, will (I believe) in another, how falsely soever they have been represented to be against the *Hanover* Succession. I know it will be here said, if the *Tories* (for a Man must speak Plain English) had been hearty and sincere for the Protestant Succession, why did not they move it this last Session of Parliament? And their great Silence on that Subject, shows plainly, they never design'd it otherwise than a Pretence to some deeper Designs: But there is a very fair and true Answer to this; *viz.* That tho' the *Tories* did sincerely desire to have mentioned this Matter last Session, yet considering this Parliament was no more to sit, and how absolutely all Motions made by them were in other Hands in one House, and the Influence of the M---rs against them, not to say the Succession, but especially because the *Whigs* themselves refused to come into it when mentioned to 'em; These things put together, made them think it more proper to wait a fairer Opportunity in a new Parliament. The great Objections made against the Presumptive Heir to the Crown's residing here, are, The great Danger to Her Majesty's Person, by an overhasty and impetuous Ambition, or the Diminution of Her Grandeur, by the Application

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that may be made to the *Rising Sun*: But as these Objections are most indelicately made, so very easily answer'd, for such Jealousies are not only unjust in themselves, but also have more often proved fatal to the Innocent Heir, than the most impatient Ambition on to the *present Possession of the Crown*. 'Tis very true, if all the Places of Power, Trust or Profit, were to be at the Successor's Dispose; if there was not to be an Officer in the Fleet or Army, Revenue or Household, but who were placed there by himself; if all the Guards, Garrisons and Amunition, were to be put in his Hands; if not a single Office to be disposed on from him who turns the Spit to him who carries the Seals, but by himself; if the Prince was so absolutely in the Power of the Successor, as the King of Castile was in the Hands of Alvarez de Luna, his great Favourite, without whose Advice that King durst not so much as walk Abroad, or put on a new Suit of Cloaths; and who proceeded to that height of Insolence, that he took it very ill his Master should once in his life offer to read a Paper which he presented him to Sign, complaining that this was to upbraid his Fidelity and forget his past Services, there might then be strength in the Objection because no Man knows what such Power and Opportunity, if a whole Government was thus misplaced (as I wish it may never be long) may prompt Ambition to. But he must be infatuated, who can believe, if the Presumptive Successor to the Crown was here to morrow, there would be the tenth part of that Address made to him as is now to One Minister or Court Lady. And yet should all this (which is Incredible) happen, You, Gentlemen, I persuade myself, would be, always so Jealous of any thing that may endanger Her Majesty's Person; or reflect upon her Honour, so true to your own and the Nation's Interest, as to chuse Representatives who would never consent to such an Exorbitant and Dangerous Power in the Hands of any Subject.

But if you would not be mistaken in your Choice, you must distinguish between such as are *Dependants on the Ministry*, and such as are not; for the Old Names of Whig and Tory have so changed their Significations, that no true judgment of Men can be made from them: And both Parties complain, not without Reason, that a great many whom they esteem'd their steadiest Friends, and oldest Acquaintance, basely forsook them this last Session; and from a slavish Compliance with the *Ministry*, formed among themselves a New Alliance. But the most likely Persons not to deceive you, are such, as laying aside their Party-Differences, and being above all the Temptations and Allurements of the *Court*, are ready to concur with any Man in any thing that shall appear to be for the Honour of the Queen, the Welfare of the Nation, the Security of the Hanover Succession, the desirable Peace amongst Protestants, the Safety of our Religion, and the Interest of the Church of England, as by Law Established.

I am,

Gentlemen,

Yours, &c.